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flower of the *wetea* tree. As he baited his hook and dropped the line into the hole he made this chant: "Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, ta te matau, e matau lave" [Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, (we) prepare the hook, the fast-gripping hook]. The *tuna* took the bait and was soon fast fixed to the hook. The man hauled the fish from the hole, and when he was about to club it to death the fish spoke, saying, "Hear my words before you kill me. When I am dead, cut off my head. Let your wife eat my body, but my head you must plant in the ground in front of your house." The man listened well to the words of the *tuna*. Then he killed the fish, cut off its head, and planted it in front of his house. The body he wrapped in leaves, cooked in the oven, and took to his wife. She saw the eel and said, "Here you are at last with just the kind of fish I have been longing for." With these words she ate the fish and was satisfied.

After a time the head grew up into a tree which later bore nuts, one nut on the topmost stem, two nuts on the second stem, three nuts on the third stem, and so on up to ten nuts on the tenth stem. Then later it had twenty stems and on the twentieth were twenty nuts. Finally the tree bore a heavy crop of nuts. As the earliest nuts ripened and became hard, they dropped from the tree to the ground. Mauieuli collected all the nuts. Then he had the idea of giving nuts to all the islands in the Pacific. He divided the nuts into two parts; one part for the islands of the western Pacific, the other part for the islands of the eastern Pacific. Then he took one nut at a time from the western pile and threw it into the air. As he threw he called out the name of an island and there the nut landed. When the western pile was finished he started on the eastern pile, throwing a nut into the air as before for each island in the eastern Pacific. In this way all the islands of the Pacific received the coconut. After he had used all the nuts from the tree, he thought, "In this division I have forgotten all about Pukapuka, which is neither east nor west. Te Ulu-o-te-watu has received no nuts from this division." He looked around on the ground and found one very small, dry nut. He held up this nut and said, "This shall be the nut for Pukapuka." Thus in the end all the islands shared in the nuts from the tree that grew from the head of the *tuna* fished by Mauieuli.

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After telling this story, informants added that the first nut was planted in the reserve of Uta. It is a characteristic Pukapukan touch to say that Pukapuka received only a wizened nut after almost being left out of the division altogether. In the story of Lata, when Lata divided the huge *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*), he forgot Pukapuka in the division and was able to give the island only the rock to which the *payua* was growing. Similarly Pukapuka was the last Polynesian island to receive Christianity and among the last islands to receive a visit from anthropologists!

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Coconut trees are empirically divided into 17 classes in terms of the bearing qualities of the tree and the shape or quality of the husk:

Niu lakita: produces nuts that are small but abundant; it sometimes ceases bearing for a long time but usually bears again after this pause.
Niu wata: bears well and continuously but not abundantly.
Niu tauiti: does not bear well and is not often planted.
Niu koalia: bears well but the nuts show a tendency to fall from the tree before they are mature.
Niu wuakole: a non-bearing tree with ngale flowers.
Niu malie: bears well and has good eating nuts.
Niu mangalo: bears the sweet eating coconut with edible husk.
Niu lalilliki: bears very small nuts.
Niu lanunui: very large nuts.
Niu kawa loloa: nuts with long husks.

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Canoes built on old style models are the small plank canoe (*tatai*) with washstrakes, bow and stern covers; the large plank canoe (*vaka tui tuta*; pl. 5*A*) with through and through lashing of the hull and washstrake sections; another large plank canoe (*vaka tui autali*; pl. 5*B*) with inside flange lashing of the hull sections; the large double canoe (*taulua*) in which two canoe hulls are lashed together by cross booms. The number of outrigger booms in all types of canoes ranges from two to six, two being common. Multiple booms are used for some large canoes.

There is no origin legend for any of these types of canoe save the bare statement that the first canoes were modeled on the shapes of the whale and a species of shark. A fragment is told, however, which indicates an early consciousness in Pukapuka of the superior workmanship of Samoan canoe builders. Two Samoan craftsmen, Kaviki and Vailaki, came to Pukapuka during a voyage of exploration. During their stay in Pukapuka, they engaged in a competition to see who could build the better canoe after the Pukapukan models. Kaviki made a *tui tuta* canoe, Vailaki a *tui autali* canoe. In both, the hull sections were so closely joined that none could see the seams on the outside of the hull. There is no tradition that the two Samoans affected in any way Pukapukan canoe-building technique.

Preferred woods for canoe building are: *uakonaro* and *uetau* for hull sections; *puapua* for washstrakes and outrigger cross booms; *pukana* for the outrigger float; *ngangie* for outrigger connecting pegs, diagonal braces, and lifting bars. Most single-piece dugout canoes are built of *pukana* (hence its name, *poti pukana*), with outrigger float of the same wood and connecting pegs of *ngangie* wood.

FIGURE 24.—Medium-sized Pukapukan canoe in Bernice P. Bishop Museum: outrigger detached for storage; lashing together of canoe hull by through-and-through method; metal plates have been added to outside of hull joins to protect sennit lashings from being severed by sharp coral. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20, fig. 8.)

FIGURE 25.—Six-boom canoe. *a*, view of starboard side: 1, bow section of hull; 2, middle sections; 3, stern section; 4, washstrake; 5, fore section of bow cover; 6, after section of bow cover; 7, forward wave guard; 8, stern cover; 9, after wave guard and bait deck; 10, stern cover decorative cleat; 11, bar rest for trolling pole, used also as seat; 12, spar below which lifting poles are inserted to carry canoe; 13, stern outrigger boom; 14, bow outrigger boom; 15, secondary outrigger boom made necessary by heavy weight of large outrigger; 16, middle outrigger boom. *b*, top view: 1, bow cover sections; 2, stern cover; 3, gunwale; 4, wider upper edge of hull; 5, outrigger booms, extending in this large canoe well beyond starboard side; 6, outrigger float; 7, secondary boom running to (8) longitudinal spar; 9, seat with hole for supporting mast, a modern method of support found on only a few canoes; 10, connecting pegs between boom and float; 11, diagonal brace between boom (5) and outrigger connecting pegs (10). Canoe lashed by through-and-through method, used mainly for transporting supplies between Yaio, the village of its owner, and Motu Kotawa. (Reproduced from Macgregor, 20, fig. 9.)

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613 The part played by the paternal lineages in regulating marriage, descent, succession, and inheritance, and the relative importance of maternal and paternal lineages in social organization are discussed elsewhere.

Close bonds unite a man to his paternal lineage and to his burial ground. Admittedly, he inherits land, coconut trees, and houses through his father, but beyond this, there is a real sentimental bond binding a man to his paternal grouping. It is always the paternal lineage and never the maternal lineage of a man that is mentioned at the beginning of each genealogy or story; informants somehow felt that by naming his paternal lineage, the hero of the 764 story was placed and his status in the community accurately defined. The 613 resident agent has had great difficulty in persuading the people that some cemeteries are too close to the villages to accord with ideals of modern public 177 health. The conflict has become acute when the agent has insisted that the 364 cemeteries be closed or the villages moved elsewhere. Either alternative has 186 seemed impossible to the people of the lineage affected, and in one prohibited cemetery a burial was prevented only by placing the Union Jack across the already gaping grave and appealing to the loyalty of the people not to touch the sacred emblem of Pax Britannica.

The paternal lineage does not seem to possess any formal structural 613 organization. There is no council of the men of the group. Formerly each lineage had its constituted priests who worshiped the gods of the lineage in religious structures erected on lands of the group. Each lineage had a secular leader, with the rank, in a minor lineage, of sub-chief (*langatila*), in a major lineage, of high chief (*aliki*) or chief (*uwi aliki*). (See pp. 234-237.) Doubt exists in the minds of informants as to whether the word *langa-* 192 *tila* is a Pukapukan word; some informants insist that it is not and that the correct designation for a minor chief was formerly *uwi aliki*, a collective word also applied, apparently, to an individual. Today *langatila* and the Rarotongan word *matuiapo* are used to designate the two groups of minor chiefs.

LINEAGE AND VILLAGE

613 For feasts, sports, and games, the community divided itself into smaller 618 units based upon paternal lineage (*yolongo* unit), maternal lineage (*vua* 621 unit) or village membership (*matoyinga* unit, sometimes called *lulu kakai*), depending upon the specific activity. Membership in the *yolongo* unit is modified by the rule of patrilocal residence so that children adopted elsewhere and members of the lineage married into another village are excluded while persons residing with the patrilineal group through marriage or adoption are included.

616 Team membership for fishing and sporting contests was formerly always based on maternal lineage membership. One moiety contested against another moiety. At a later

more correct name would be *yele mauli*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yele manu* (fig. 4,*b*), consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ere vaerua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yelia ko te talakelake	You were tied to the *talakelake* tree
Wakawiwi ake te mauli, koa mate, koa elo	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank,
Wakatautili ai taua i te pu o te puka a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puka* tree of Tangi,
Wakaulu ko te wale poutini . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

> The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a malo or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth gained, it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags

1. [See p. 64, category 116—analyst.]

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along the ground. A badly thrown dart goes to the right or left of the *malae* or hits the ground at such an angle that the *ulutau* head digs into the ground and stops the flight. After each throw the thrower rubs the dart shaft with coconut shell to make it smooth and so aid in the slithering motion.

In composite dart contests each village competes in turn (*wakatele*) against the other two villages. Any number of men are allowed on a team (*lulu tane*), and there is no attempt to make the teams equal in number. All the men of one team throw first while the members of the opposing team gather around the *tau* and try to make the throwers nervous by witticisms and ridicule. Pronounced facial gestures in throwing are: biting and compressing of lips, baring and clenching teeth, wrinkling forehead. After the men of the first team have thrown, a mark is made on the *malae* at the point where the farthest thrown dart came to rest. Then the members of the other team throw. One point (*hoi*) is scored for each dart of one team that goes past the farthest mark of the other team. Both teams then walk to the opposite end of the *malae* and throw again. Throwing from alternate ends is continued until one team has scored 10 points and wins the victory (*to te ulu*). The winning team sings a special chant composed for the occasion, and the next contest begins. The lowest ranking team in any three-cornered competition, including dart throwing, is termed *palekimuli*.

Simple dart-throwing contests. Two teams of any number of men compete at one time. The *malae* is a strip of the village road about 90 yards wide with the two ends cleared for a distance of 10 paces, providing a smooth surface against which the simple dart (*tika*) will ricochet. The thrower holds the dart (*tika*) between thumb and middle finger, the index finger resting against the end and steadying the balance. The player turns sidewise, takes a few short steps forward, and throws the dart with a quick underhand forward swing of the arm. The aim is to make the end of the dart strike against the cleared place at an angle so that it will fly through the air in a graceful trajectory or skim along the ground. All the men throw from one end, then walk to the other end of the *malae* and shoot again. The scoring is the same as in composite dart throwing. The winning team chants after each win. Simple dart throwing is a very popular sport. The darts are quickly and easily made from *ngayu* wood. For many weeks before and after a contest the young men practice dart throwing each evening on the village road. The children make darts for themselves—even children 2 years old manage to acquire them—and both boys and girls imitate their elders, either throwing against each other in miniature contests or throwing darts before them as they go about their errands.

Running races (*wolole*). These are popular today, but as they do not figure in old chants, there is some doubt as to their place in old-time Pukapukan culture. Races are held on the village road. In inter-village contests straight foot races are first run to determine the fastest runners. Then a series of "handicap races" is held. The slower runner stands on the starting line. A few paces in advance of him is the faster runner. At the signal the slower runner starts, and when he comes to the stationary faster runner, he gives him a push (*tuloki*), trying to knock him over but continues his own pace without too much slackening of speed. The faster runner expects the blow and tries to take it in such a way as not to over-handicap himself; he crouches to keep his balance so that he can spring up as soon as the slower runner passes him, and by this springing start to make up for his initial handicap before his opponent reaches the finishing line. It is not considered unfair to stall an opponent by running in front of him and across his track. A good runner is called *tangata tuvalo* (man of swift foot).

Wrestling

Wrestling (*popoko*) is a very popular sport, and the Pukapukans pride themselves on being the best wrestlers among the Polynesians. Wrestling was one of the sports indulged in during the festival that formerly marked

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his body. They immediately disengage and walk back to their shelters. A man may stop the bout after only a few seconds' wrestling if he feels so inclined, simply by relaxing. This he does because he is out of breath or because he feels that his opponent is too strong for him. There is no desire to triumph over an opponent who is weakened by exhaustion or lack of strength. This would be considered no victory at all, for the opponent is simply not worthy of one's own superior strength or skill. Thus a draw results from a contest between two men so well matched that it is futile to struggle and exhaust themselves; or from a contest between a champion and a weakling, where neither considers it any disgrace to retire with fictitious equal honors when the odds are so heavily in favor of one. This concept of the drawn bout may also have been reenforced by the fact that many men wish to wrestle during the one day and it would be selfish to spend too much time over any one contest.

The men of each village are grouped into three classes of wrestlers (*kau turu*, strong men): *mua vaka* (canoe bow), a team of younger men; *loto vaka* (canoe middle) a team of middle-aged men; and *muli vaka* (canoe stern), a team of old, experienced veterans. The *mua vaka* wrestle first during the day, then the *loto vaka*, and towards the end of the day, the *muli vaka*. In general, men from corresponding teams wrestle with each other, but in theory a man has a right to wrestle with whom he pleases; and should a young man be bold or disrespectful, an older man may wrestle with him and try to throw him in order to subdue his forwardness. Some contests are also provoked by a desire to pay off injuries due to previous ridicules, slanders, or alleged adulteries. To fell all opponents is *papaki*. For variety, an experienced champion may challenge two men to wrestle with him at one time. If he defeats these two, he goes on to wrestle with three men and more until he is finally thrown. This type of wrestling is *pulenga*.

The behavior of the spectators during the bouts is quiet and restrained. The people sit or lie about in the shelters but watch intently. They do not coach from the sidelines or interfere in any other way. As soon as a bout is won, however, the villagers are on their feet to commence the taunting chant (*tila*) before the champion is back in the shelter. Many chants are composed for the occasion, and old ones are practiced on the night previous to the contest. The words insult the other village and boast of the prowess of the home village (1). They are accompanied by dance movements of the arms, legs, buttocks, and abdomen in rhythm to the chanting and handclapping. The enthusiasm is the same whether the victory is gained by a recognized champion or by some obscure weakling over another weakling. The chant finished, the spectators quickly subside and await the next contest. Little notice is taken of a draw. The wrestlers sit to the side and quietly talk among themselves in the intervals between bouts. The children play up and down the wrestling field. Though driven away at regular intervals by a shower of pebbles, they are soon back again, running foot races and wrestling among themselves. Spectators often find these more diverting to watch than the adult contests.

Shoulder-pushing contests (*lukipoko*) were formerly in vogue but are not popular today. In an exhibition the young men had to be coached by the older people before they could proceed. *Lukipoko* contests between two or more young men in the god house after a seclusion period were called *tukupua* (p. 283). In the exhibition contest of shoulder pushing were three teams, each consisting of five men.

The teams line up in three files. Two teams, A and B, kneel on the ground with 3 yards between the two files, facing the third team, C, also in file, about 10 yards in front. All three teams perform the *lupe* ritual. Team C advances in zigzag fashion with short quick steps. As C gets close to A and B, it selects one team to engage. The two first men of A and C engage shoulders and push (*tutuki*) each other, C men push-

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226 At the end of each day's fishing the canoes come ashore; the fish are taken to the village meeting place; the head, gills, and heart of each fish are preserved as a record, and the body of the fish given out to housewives to cook for the feast on the third day. The count for fish is as follows: albacore, bonito, *palo*, *kumai*, and *wanga* fish count one each; one female turtle counts as one fish, but a female turtle with eggs counts as one fish plus one fish extra for each egg she carries. Hence a female turtle may count as high as 140 fish, and the village fortunate enough to make this catch is almost sure to win. A male turtle formerly counted as 50 fish, but owing to recent dispute this has been lowered to 10 fish.

The return of the canoes is accompanied by great animation. The villagers gather on the beach to watch the canoes land. It is dusk and coconut-leaf torches light up the scene. Children sport in the shallows and cry out excitedly whenever a canoe returns with a good haul. There are many disputes as to the total village count of fish and rumors of the fish counts from the other two villages. On the second day excitement quiets down only when a band of young men comes racing back from a visit to the other villages with definite news of scores. Formerly when the canoes were beached, 833 it was permissible for the women to taunt and joke with the men in the fullest freedom, and under cover of the dark to pick out lovers and slip away with them to the bush. Single and married men participated in this freedom, and no after-complaint about an erring spouse received any attention. Old chants carry reference to these occasions of permissible freedom in sexual relations (1).

5'74 On the third day the people gather together for the food divisions. Fish from all 493 three villages, together with a levy of 10 mats for each adult and much prepared taro, 621 are placed in a pile and divided among the lineage groups in each village. The winning 186 village spends the day chanting songs of insulting and glorifying nature and doing appropriate dances. The chanters are dressed in leaf decorations according to village tradition.

Losing a fishing contest is due to breaking the tapus governing the pre-contest pro- 226 hibition period, or to adultery on the part of the women left in the villages, or women's 577 quarrels, gadding about, and laziness at mat making and domestic tasks while the men 461 are not present. The women are supposed to be especially industrious while the men are fishing, and if a man comes home and learns from gossip that his wife has been idling about, he is justified in beating her for having thus provoked bad luck. In another exhibition fishing contest in which Yato men won, ill-behavior of Ngake women was given as the cause for Ngake's defeat. Loto was defeated for this reason too and also because of antisocial conduct on the part of some fishermen in the division of fish. Instead of taking all fish caught to the village meeting place to be divided, individual fishermen kept back fish for the sole use of their families. One man also removed a *kahai* head from the fish pile without waiting for the decision of the food dividers. It was suggested by informants in the other villages that this behavior was so disgraceful that it was doubtful whether Loto village could win a fishing contest for many years to come.

Mat-making Contests

621 In former times women held mat-making contests (*wainganga panga*). 285 A day was fixed for the starting of the plaiting. The village that first finished the required number of mats was the winner of the contest. The number of mats was specified beforehand. They were of a standard size with decorative borders added if desired, though the contest was primarily one for speed. The winning village had the privilege of making a grand parade through the villages, showing off the mats (*liahi na panga*) and chanting as they did so.